1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride.

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that.

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt.

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains.

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband.

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159 585 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 834 352 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does [342] not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

159 585 In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I 224 833 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some [841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowa*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. /Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, 'The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide.' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire.' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *//guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
● 562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

548 As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
684 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

847 Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accord-
ingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
002

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people.
[423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such,
621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-||om*, on the
[582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the
591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out
361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the
[184] *Hei-||om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is
[562] reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered
[882 underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and
343] boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents,
[589] but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various
342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and
[462] covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.
166 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish
342 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which
[622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated
[312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a
353 single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757
562 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Be-
574 fore they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
577 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night, but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to
[181] her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative people, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] [171] [512] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [502] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband step-brother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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622 562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

782 539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

113 ## Bibliography

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361
312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory.

[648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu
[222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps
602 reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups
[562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*/heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*/ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this */heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*/hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 117; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
● [562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 505–6.